Opposition to Certain Army Officers Casting Reflections, by Public Interview and Otherwise, Upon the Efficiency of the Army and Its Preparedness for War.

Discussion of the McKellar Bill Providing for the Joint Establishment of Military Training Schools in the Several States.

SPEECH

of

HON. KENNETH D. MCKELLAR

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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WASHINGTON 1914



SPEECH

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The House in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 13453) making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. Chairman, in the time allotted to me I desire to discuss with the committee a military training schools bill which I introduced some time ago and which is now pending before the Committee on Military Affairs of the House.

But before going into the consideration of this military training schools bill I desire to make some observations concerning the Army. From time to time during the last five or six months statements have been made in the public press purporting to come from high officers of the Army reflecting upon the effi-ciency of the Army and our preparedness for war. Whether the officers of our Army in these newspaper stories have been accurately quoted or not I do not know; but I know that on Tuesday last I received a pamphlet under the frank of the Chief of Staff, which pamphlet, among other things, has the following:

The present status of the Army is not satisfactory to those who are in it or those who are out of it, so far as the latter have knowledge of the facts. It is very small considering the population and extent and exposure of the country. It is, we hope, very efficient for its size, and we believe that it would give a very excellent account of itself as long as it lasted in a serious war.

If ever an army was damned with faint praise, in my judgment, the American Army is damned in the above excerpt taken from the printed article written by a Mr. Orton and sent out by the Chief of Staff.

Mr. SLAYDEN. That was written by whom?

Mr. McKELLAR. By a Mr. Orton. Mr. SLAYDEN. Who is he?

Mr. SLAYDEN. Who is he? Mr. McKELLAR. I do not know. I believe he is a professor in an Ohio university. Appearing in the papers from time to time have been purported statements from high Army officials that the Panama Canal was in danger of being taken by the British or the Germans; that Hawaii was at the mercy of the Japs; that the Philippines could be overrun in 10 minutes by Japan; and the latest scare was, according to high Army officers, Japan could land a million men on our western coast, the idea being they could soon overrun this country because we had little Navy and no Army to protect us. In talking personally to officers of the Army I find a growing desire among them to say that our Army is insufficient and that we are unprepared for war. In my judgment, this grows out of the published statements from high officers, to which I have heretofore referred. These high officials have in view, of course, the enlargement of our Army. They are constantly talking about the 32072-12872

great standing armies of Europe and comparing our preparedness for war with the preparedness of France, Germany, and England.

Now, Mr. Chairman, we have a small Army of about 89,000 officers and men. We appropriate, in round numbers, \$100,000,000 a year for that Army. This does not take into consideration the 120,000 men in the militia of the various States. England has an army of 255,000 and spends \$137,000,000 for her army. France has an army of 712,000 and spends \$180,000,000 therefor. Germany has an army of 626,000 and spends \$204,000,000 therefor. Russia has an army of 1,200,000 and spends \$281,000,000 therefor. Japan has an army of 230,000 and spends \$55,000,000 therefor.

It will thus be seen, by a simple calculation, that the average soldier unit is paid per year by the United States \$1,125; by England, \$500; by Germany, \$300; by France, \$250; by Japan, \$240; by Russia, \$230. Thus it will be seen that the larger the standing army the less pay per officer or man. Do these Army officers want us to follow this foreign example? It is sure to

follow in the end if this kind of policy is adopted.

Now, it seems that it is the ambition of some of our Army officers to create in this country a large standing Army in time of peace, always ready for war at a moment's notice. This is contrary to our history, contrary to our free institutions, and has always been held by our real statesmen as a

menace to free government.

Now, Mr. Chairman, these doleful predictions on the part of some of our Army officers about the inefficiency of our Army and its unpreparedness for war always come at that season of the year when appropriation bills are being considered, and I believe they come from a desire upon the part of these officers to scare Congress into making larger appropriations for the Army. The latest scare was given the Senate, it seems, early this month, when it was discovered that apparently we had no field guns or ammunition in reserve. The "Gloomy Guses" of the Army had made a touchdown, and they got the appropriation for that purpose increased over \$1,000,000 on the idea that Japan might overrun this country at any time if we did not appropriate \$1,000,000 more for reserve field artillery and reserve ammunition therefor. They did this notwithstanding that the daily papers reported the news from Japan that she was almost in a state of revolution and bankruptcy.

Mr. Chairman, I believe the time has come when it is the duty of Congress to pass a resolution or law prohibiting Army officers from making and publishing statements reflecting upon the efficiency of our Army or upon our preparedness for war. [Ap-

plause.]

Mr. SLAYDEN. Mr. Chairman, before the gentleman leaves that particular part of his discourse, will he permit me a question?

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes.

Mr. SLAYDEN. It seems to me I read in the public press or heard about the Halls of Congress a few days ago that an order had been issued forbidding certain people from talking too much about Army matters to the public.

Mr. McKELLAR. I do not know whether it has been or not,

but I know it was-

Mr. SLAYDEN. There was such an order, I will say to the gentleman, and it threatened to put the Infantry publication out of business. But the gentleman knows that the chief sinners in this respect have not been the subordinates, but the high officials of the War Department themselves, and they have occupied pulpits and rostrums and availed of every means of publicity to do it. I ask the gentleman if he does not believe those should be stopped, too?

Mr. McKELLAR. I believe that anybody, knowing the American Army as I believe I know it, who casts reflections upon its efficiency or upon our preparedness for war ought to be criti-

cized and dismissed from the service. [Applause.]

Mr. SLAYDEN. Does not the gentleman believe that it is an exceedingly improper thing for the officers of the Army or Navy

to criticize the policies of Congress?

Mr. McKELLAR. I do. I believe they could better give their time and attention to the building up of the best Army and Navy possible without undertaking to run this end of the machine.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. McKELLAR. I do.

Mr. CAMPBELL. Does not the gentleman think it especially reprehensible for any high official of the Army to send out, under his frank, such a statement as was read by the gentleman from Tennessee in the opening of his address?

Mr. McKELLAR. I have just said so.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Reiterate it.

Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Tennessee yield to the gentleman from California?

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes; in a moment.

Now, let us see what the facts are, for a moment. We have a well-trained little Army of 75,000 men, officered by officers the most of whom are trained at West Point, the greatest military training school for officers, perhaps, in the world. They are the chosen young men of the country, and, with few exceptions, I believe to be the most capable and efficient officers on the face of the globe to-day. The other officers are taken from the ranks and from civil life, picked men, who know their business and are selected because of their peculiar fitness to act as officers. This Army is the best paid army in the world, as the above figures show. It is the best fed army in the world. It is the best clothed army in the world. It is the best housed army in the world; and, for my part, I believe to-day it is the most efficient and best prepared army there is on the face of the earth, because it is composed of American citizens who are not afraid to fight and who are the superiors of any race of men on the globe. [Applause.]

Added to this Army we have a splendidly trained militia in every State of the Union. Added to this, we have agricultural training-school institutions where military instructions are given by Army officers of the United States to thousands of young men throughout the country. Added to this, we have a great volunteer force of the United States, upon which our country has always depended for protection and from which she has

always received every protection.

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Mr. KAHN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McKellar. But it is claimed by some of these officers from time to time that we are unprepared for war because we have not the guns and ammunition. The Army concededly has all of the small arms that it needs. The militia force of the country has all the small arms that it needs, and we have a million rifles in reserve, in addition, that can be put into service on five days' notice and all small-arm ammunition in reserve we need for these rifles. We have spent nearly \$200,-000,000 since Mr. Cleveland's last administration upon arming and protecting our coasts, and I believe they are in as good a condition as any coast defenses on earth, armed and equipped and ready for action at any time. But the cry is made that we have not the field artillery. In his claim before the committee, Gen. Wood stated that it was necessary to have about 1,300 pieces in reserve and ammunition that is necessary to go with them. Of these, they already have 750 pieces, and in a pinch it is claimed we could manufacture 500 pieces a year. In the fortifications bill this House appropriated \$450,000 for field artillery and \$900,000 for ammunition therefor. This bill carries \$750,000 more for field artillery for the militia and \$1,000,000 for ammunition therefor. And yet it is claimed we are not prepared for war because we have not the field artillery and ammunition, and the Senate answered this claim by increasing the amount in the fortifications bill \$1,150,000.

Now I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. KAHN. The gentleman has been criticizing the officers of the Army——

Mr. McKellar. Some of the officers of the Army.

Mr. KAHN. Some of them, I should say.

Mr. McKELLAR. I have been very highly complimenting the general officers of the Army, and I believe they are entitled to it.

Mr. KAHN. But does not the gentleman know that those criticisms could be absolutely stopped by a simple order?

Mr. McKELLAR. That is exactly what I think. I think we will get them stopped.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes.

Mr. SLOAN. Should not that order come from the head of the Army rather than from this House?

Mr. McKELLAR. No; I think when certain Army officers undertake to get appropriations in the House it is a live matter right then and there, and the House ought to act in the matter.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I have no desire to injure anyone on earth. I have no interest in this matter except the interest I feel I ought to have as a member of the Military Affairs Committee of this House. I do not believe that these officers ought to be permitted to give out these idle vaporings about the inefficiency of our Army or about our unpreparedness for war. They are misleading and incorrect, and may at any time involve us in trouble, and I want to suggest in all candor that I hope that these officers will not permit themselves to give out more such gloomy statements, such misleading and improper statements. But if they should, then I believe it is the duty of Congress to rise to the occasion and enact a law dismissing from the Army any officer who so far forgets himself, his Army, or 32072-12872

his country, as publicly to speak or write either about the inefficiency of our Army or about our unpreparedness for war, whatever his purpose may be for making the statement.

Mr. SLAYDEN. Is it necessary to invoke a weapon so powerful as that to stop indiscretions of speech on the part of the

officers of our Army and Navy?

Mr. McKELLAR. As I stated a moment ago, I hope nothing

more than a suggestion is necessary.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, the gentleman is an authority on these military matters. Has not the President, the head of the Army, the authority to stop these things at any time?

Mr. McKELLAR. That is probably true. Mr. SLOAN. Under his oath of office.

Mr. McKELLAR. It may never have been called to his attention. I do not know now that it has. I do not believe it has ever been called to his attention. I desire to call the attention, not only of this House, but the attention of the American people, and of all those in authority, to what some of these officers are doing.

Mr. MOORE. Will the gentleman yield? Mr. McKELLAR. In just one minute.

I would not belong to an army organization that I did not have more confidence in and no better opinion of than some of these officers seem to have in the American Army. In everyday life the lawyer who is always overawed by the splendid case presented by his opponent and doubtful of his own, is a certain loser. The business man who can always succeed if he just had the means and resources of his competitor in business, never succeeds. And so, there never was a commander who won a battle, who was always thinking and talking of the inferiority of his own forces and the superiority of the enemy's forces. Mr. Chairman, if our Army officers feel compelled to go into print they should rather follow the example of that sturdy old soldier, Gen. Miles, who in a recent interview gave stirring expressions of his patriotism and confidence in American arms; or like that splendid specimen of the American soldier, now about completing the greatest engineering project of the world, Col. Goethals, who, when asked by a newspaper correspondent the other day if we were able to protect the canal said: "There never was a doubt about it."

Mr. Chairman, our standing Army is large enough in times of peace—and I do not believe that the American people would agree that it should be made any larger—and in times of war we need have no fears but that it will be large enough, strong enough, and brave enough to come out victorious in any con-

test in which our people may ever be thrown.

Sixty-five per cent of the entire revenues of this great Government are now applied to war—past, present, or future. We contribute yearly \$100,000,000 to the Army, \$140,000,000 to the Navy, and \$200.000,000 to pensions, a total in these three large items of \$440,000,000 per year. For the three most important peaceful pursuits in life we appropriate, for education \$2,400,000 per year; for agriculture, about \$20,000,000 per year; and for commerce, about \$5,225,000 per year; about one-thirteenth, in all, as much as we pay out for the three principal items of war alone. And yet, Mr. Chairman, these Army officers above referred to are continuously striving to increase our standing Army to a \$32072—12872

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half million of men and our annual appropriation for the Army on the road to \$500,000,000 in an endeavor to follow and pattern after the tax-burdened and oppressed monarchies of Europe and the East.

I sincerely hope, Mr. Chairman, that these offending Army officers will read these suggestions and hereafter strive to get the best results from what we have rather than in the vain endeavor to follow plans which are contrary to our free institutions and contrary to the wishes of the American people.

I appeal to them in all kindness, instead of these persistent efforts to imitate European and eastern monarchies in building up a large standing Army to the detriment of the whole people and to the jeopardy of the Republic, that they will heartily and enthusiastically join the Secretary of War and the military committees of the House and Senate in building up the most perfect Army organization of the world within the limit of numbers and within the limit of cost, which in times of peace should never be over \$100,000,000.

They could give us a most perfect fighting machine, amply sufficient for the protection of our every interest, if they would devote more time to the internal workings and to the skillful and economic management of the Army now provided for rather than to concocting ambitious and dangerous schemes for the enlargement of our standing Army in times of peace, contrary to the settled policy and wishes of the American people. [Ap-

plause.]

THE MILITARY TRAINING SCHOOLS.

Mr. Chairman, how much time have I occupied? The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman has occupied 21 minutes. Mr. McKELLAR. Now, Mr. Chairman, I desire to discuss the military training schools bill which I have introduced.

This bill provides that a military training school shall be established under the joint auspices of the State and of the United States in every State of the Union, in the District of Columbia, and in Alaska. It is proposed that the States shall by their legislatures designate an already existing institution, or a new institution to be founded for that purpose, to cooperate with a commission of the United States composed of the Secretary of War, the Commissioner of Education, and a civilian to be appointed by the President; and at this institution there shall be educated each year 300 boys between the ages of 17 These boys are to be selected by the county superintendent in each county of the States by examinations, competitive or otherwise. They are to be selected from the boys whose parents certify they are unable to give such boys a collegiate education.

The State is to furnish the dormitories, grounds, drill grounds, and teachers in the academic departments. The United States is to furnish the military equipment and military instructions. The entire cost of each boy per year is limited to \$400. The State is required to agree to expend \$40,000 and the Government to expend \$80,000, making \$120,000, which, divided among 300 boys, will pay the cost of their education and training. sum is to be spent by the boy or for the boy as the trustees of each institution may determine. The course is to be fashioned as closely as possible after the course of instruction at West Point, except it is to be less rigorous. It is to consist of a threeyear course, and 100 boys are to be graduated each year from each institution, 5,000 being graduated every year from all of the States of the Union.

Mr. MAPES. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. McKELLAR. Certainly.

Mr. MAPES. How does the gentleman arrive at his figures

of 5,000 graduates a year?

Mr. McKELLAR. Three hundred boys in each school, and there are 50 States and Territories in the Union. By a simple calculation that is 15,000 boys, and one-third of them will be graduated every year.

Mr. MAPES. The gentleman means to have 300 in each

State?

Mr. McKELLAR. Three hundred in each State and Territory. There are 50 States and Territories, and by a simple mathematical calculation the gentleman can see how it will work out.

Mr. MAPES. What I rose to ask particularly about was, did you propose to have these carried on at some existing State in-

stitution?

Mr. McKELLAR. Let the States settle that for themselves. That would happen perhaps in nine-tenths of the States.

Mr. MAPES. How many superintendents would you have? Mr. McKELLAR. The bill provides that it shall be under the supervision of a board consisting of the Secretary of War, the Commanding General of the Army, and a civilian to be ap-

pointed by the President.

Now, somebody in criticizing the bill—I think it was sent out by the Chief of Staff—said that it would cost too much. The idea of talking about a bill for the education and training of worthy and ambitious boys that costs a little over \$3,000,000, when we are paying out nearly five hundred millions for war and only twenty-four hundred thousand for education, saying that this costs too much.

Mr. MAPES. The gentleman proposes to pay the entire cost

of the education of the 300 boys.

Mr. McKELLAR. Take the boy within the limit of \$400, absolutely take charge of him and educate him.

Mr. MAPES. Give him a collegiate education, as well as a military education?

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes.

Now, Mr. Chairman, this is not a gratuity. The State and National Government educates these boys, but they are required to pay for it in service. These boys, under the bill, will be graduated between the ages of 20 and 23, and they are required to agree that they will serve the United States as officers, non-commissioned officers, or privates at any time within seven years after their graduation.

It will thus be seen, Mr. Chairman, the object of this bill is

twofold. One is military and the other is educational.

I want to discuss the military feature of it first. Everyone admits that the Military Academy at West Point is a great institution and an indispensible institution. At the time it was established the whole country did not have but 5,000,000 population. Now we have about 100,000,000. It is apparent that we should have more Federal military training schools. At the Military Academy at West Point the average cost per student

to graduate is about \$20,000. Under my plan the cost to the United States for practically as good an education will be \$1,200 per student. We pay this \$20,000 per student at West Point without a word, but the Chief of Staff in the pamphlet sent out on Tuesday points out that my bill is an expensive experiment and that the money ought to be expended to pay for a postal card reserve, which I will refer to hereafter.

In the next place this bill will infuse a military spirit throughout the country, as boys are to be selected from every county in

the United States, one or more boys from each county.

In the next place, there will be established under the terms of this bill a splendid body of picked and trained and educated and ambitious young men from all parts of the country, and in seven years the reserve will amount to 35,000 of these young men and will continue at this figure. I want to say, Mr. Chairman, right here that with all due respect to the officers of the Army, who are contending for a reserve army, I believe these 35,000 young men would be of more value in the time of a real war than half a million postal-card pension-pay reserves under the plan suggested by the Chief of Staff.

STATE MILITIA PLAN.

In the last few years, as we all know, there has been a tremendous effort made by certain Army officers to increase the Standing Army and to organize a reserve force. It was first thought that this could be done by means of a plan which developed into what was known as the "militia pay bill." By the terms of this bill, generally speaking, the militia in all of the States were to be made a part of the United States Army and they were to be regularly paid by the United States Government, the first appropriation therefor being estimated at about twenty-five or thirty million dollars. A snag was struck in the outset of this plan by a provision in our Constitution limiting the duties of the militia as follows:

To execute the laws of the Union, to suppress insurrection, and repel invasion.

It will thus be seen that the militia could not be sent out of

the country, and this was the defect in this plan.

In the next place, under the Constitution the militia must be officered by State authorities. This in times of war always causes trouble and dissension and makes it impossible to have that cohesive cooperation that is so necessary in the management of the Army. For this reason also the use of the militia was a doubtful matter. It was again urged by the opponents of the bill that if it should pass the nominal militia would be increased in the various States in a very short time to more than a million men, and would result in costing the Government several times as much as our whole Army now costs us. Thus it seems that that plan has been abandoned.

ARMY OFFICERS' PLAN.

In a magazine article Capt. William Mitchell, of the General Staff, United States Army, who, no doubt, outlined the plan of the officers of the Army in essence, set out a bill which he proposed. It seems no member of the Senate or House has yet been brave enough to introduce it.

This bill provides, in brief, to continue the present Army as it is at a cost of \$100,000,000 per year; second, to organize

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what is called a continental army, providing for 240,000 men at an estimated cost of about \$26,000,000, and a Regular Army reserve—cost not limited—which would bring up the total force of our Army to 510,000 men. This bill is declared by Capt. Mitchell to be better than the militia pay bill, and perhaps it is if we were a warlike Nation, intent upon entering upon a mission of conquest. While this system, as outlined by Capt. Mitchell, is a very attractive one, looked at from a war standpoint, and is certainly a very carefully thought out one; still it is safe to say hardly a Member of Congress could be found willing to vote for this legislation. It is predicted that such a system would cost the Government \$500,000,000 per year in less than 10 years, and this alone would be and should be a sufficient cause for a rejection of the plan. In addition to that, there is no need for such a military system. Further, it would not make for peace, so much desired by every fair-minded man in our Nation, but it would almost be an open invitation to war. In the next place, no State-rights man would ever agree to it on the ground that it would be too large a centralization of power.

THE VOLUNTEER ARMY.

The Constitution provides for the calling out of volunteers in the event of war—our great bulwark of defense. The young and active and vigorous men who go into the Army upon a call for volunteers are, as a general rule, the flower of our young manhood. They are inspired by patriotism; they are impelled by ambition, they are steadied by a desire to win. They believe, first, that their country is right in its undertaking, and the result is after a short service, as history has taught us, they make the finest example of the soldier in the world. This was true when men fought hand to hand with swords and with bayonets and on horseback. Warfare under these conditions made the man of the highest intelligence and the highest aims and purposes the best soldier. If it were true under these antiquated conditions of warfare, how much more true is it now under the present conditions of warfare? There can now be no lines of march, no column of attack, no cavalry charges, no bayonet charges, no use of swords, and little of pistols. All these things would be a hindrance in modern warfare.

More than ever would the result of a battle now depend upon individual sagacity, individual action, and individual efficiency. Training is necessary, even more necessary than it ever was; but it is a different kind of training. It does not mean the mere number of men, but it means the skill and ability of the individual man. In the event of a great war, more than ever we would be dependent upon the volunteer force of our country.

It has been seen from what I have quoted from the Constitution that our forefathers on the subject of an army committed themselves to three propositions—first, opposition to a standing army; second, to a militia system, which could only be used to "execute laws of the Union, suppress insurrection, and repel invasions"; third, reliance upon the volunteer forces of the country for an army in case of war.

So that it looks as if we are going to continue to rely upon the

volunteer system whenever we are in real trouble.

President Wilson recently stated in a speech at Mobile that this Government will not again wage a war of conquest, and I 32072—12872 believe that he expressed the overwhelming sentiment of the American people when he made that statement. Unless we are going to embark upon a mission of conquest we certainly do not need a large standing army, nor do we need a reserve army. At the same time, no one ever knows when we may have to engage in war. We ought to be prepared. Our youth ought to be trained in military institutions, or certainly enough of them should be trained to disseminate a military spirit throughout the country, so that in the time of an emergency we would have not only the trained men, but we would have the best class of our young men imbued with this military spirit. This has been the idea of our great men all the way down the line from the infancy of our Republic to the present day. The first year of our Republic Mr. Knox, the then Secretary of War, said:

All discussions on the subject of a powerful militia will result in one or the other of the following principles: First, either efficient institutions must be established for the military education of the youth, and that the knowledge acquired therein shall be diffused throughout the community by means of rotation; or, secondly, that the militia must be formed of substitutes, after the manner of the militia of Great Britain.

President Washington, in 1796, said, in a message to Congress: However pacific the general policy of a nation may be, it ought never to be without an adequate stock of military knowledge for emergencies.

Not long after this, in 1802, Congress established the National Military Academy at West Point, N. Y. It will be remembered at that time that the whole United States was not more than half as populous as the State of New York. That school is probably now the most famous military institution in the world. That it was wise to establish it is beyond the question of doubt. It is a little larger in number than it was in the beginning, but not greatly so. It was virtually the same institution a hundred years ago, when our population was not much more than one-twentieth of what it is now.

We need other institutions of like kind. This institution has been a success. Other institutions of this kind will be successes, and in my judgment they are absolutely necessary.

In 1817, just after the war with Great Britain, a committee

of this House declared:

There can scarcely be a restraint more vexatious and disgusting to a grown man than the initiatory lessons of the military art, and that to establish a second military system we must begin with the youth of the country; that we ought therefore to devise a system of military instruction, which shall be engrafted on and form a part of the ordinary education of our youth, extended without exception to every individual of proper age, not in distant schools established for the purpose, but that it should form a branch of education in every school within the United States.

When the Civil War arose, as everyone understood, the great trouble was a want of officers not of men. After this war, likewise, in 1865, a resolution was adopted in the House instructing the Military Affairs Committee "to inquire into the expediency of establishing a national military school in some of the States of the great Northwest."

About the same time other bills were introduced to provide for military education. In 1862 a bill was actually passed which provided for the detail of an officer of the Army to act as president, superintendent, or officer of certain colleges or universities having not less than 150 male students. This bill was passed in 1862. Later on, in 1870, a bill was passed which provided that a Secretary of War might issue small arms and pieces of

field artillery for the instruction of students provided for in the

foregoing act.

These acts unquestionably have been of real service, but there is no cohesiveness about them, and there is no way of a forced utilization of the boys trained in such institutions in the event of an emergency.

MY PLAN.

My idea of the situation is this, that we do not need a large standing Army in our country. We do need, however, at all times to have a large body of our young men well trained and educated. The time ought never arise, in the event of a war, when we should lack for properly trained officers, as well as men, as it did in 1861. It is difficult to train a man later on in life; he ought to be trained while a boy. Our officers should be made from the best material that we have. They should be well educated. They should be educated, not with a view of entering military life as a vocation, but only with a view of entering military life in the event of a necessity. If another great war is ever fought out between great nations, intelligence of officers and individual soldiers is going to play as an important a part as physical bravery and training. The two should go hand in hand. Educate and train 5,000 boys a year, graduating 100 in each State in the Union, and in a few years such would be the military spirit created in all parts of the country that a call for volunteers in time of trouble would easily bring forth a million of men.

The plan that I have put into a bill which I have introduced

in the House performs three great services:

First, it educates 5,000 boys a year, who would otherwise not receive a college education. Second, within seven years there would be created a reserve of 35,000 of the best-trained men in this country or any other country, who would be lawfully required to respond, and who would respond instantly, to a call to arms by their country. Third, it would infuse a military spirit in young men throughout the country-not one that would be harmful, like the spirit that would rise from the establishment of a large standing army, but one that would be helpful, in that our people would know what our country could rely upon in the event of trouble.

A REAL RESERVE.

Within seven years under this bill there would be a reserve created of 35,000 young men between the ages of 20 and 30 years, who would be under a contract with the Government for a most valuable consideration to serve in the Army whenever called upon and in whatever capacity called upon. With all due respect to Capt. Mitchell's plan of a continental army, as shown in his magazine article of recent date, 1 part military and 99 parts civilian, and what we take to be his postal-card reserve of 170,000 more, making in all a total reserve of 410,000 men, I believe if our country had to fight a real enemy the 35,000 young graduates of the several military training schools provided for in my bill, none younger than 20 and none older than 30, would be immensely more effective than the nondescript pension-pay-postal posting throng of 410,000. In the event of real trouble, the pension-pay crowd would be of doubtful value, while the postal-posting crowd could never be

found. On the other hand, the kind of young men that will be educated in these military training schools would be those who would be eager for the fray. They would be at the right age to be effective fighters. They would have the education, skill, and scientific training to make effective fighters. They would have education and knowledge to make them take care of themselves, physically and otherwise. They would have the courage to do things. They would have the ambition to excel, because each one, knowing his own power and his own ability, would regard a war as an opportunity to advance himself in the race for life. It would not be a question of pay for them, but a question of patriotism and of gratitude for the opportunity that the Government had given to them.

The difference between the two reserve forces might be illustrated by the well-known story of two boys who applied to an employer for work. The employer asked the first boy what pay he wanted, and thinking the employer had not offered enough he went on his way and remained without work. When the same question was asked the second boy, he said that all he wanted was work and the opportunity to show the employer what he was worth and the employer could fix the pay. In a few years the second boy became the head of the establishment;

the first boy became a marcher in Coxey's army.

THE EDUCATIONAL FEATURE.

In no event, however, could this bill, if enacted into law, be a mistake. Assuming that it has no merit at all as furnishing a reserve for our Army, assuming that it would not be an aid to our volunteer military system, yet it would still educate 5,000 boys a year—5,000 manly, vigorous, active, intelligent, worthy boys, that could not otherwise get a collegiate education. This proposition alone should cause every Member of this House to vote for this measure, for as a measure to promote higher education of boys in this country it could not be excelled.

No State rights principle is involved in this bill. No sectional principle is involved in this bill. It gives every State, every section, and every poor boy in our country a chance. It will prove a great boon to the poor country boys who live on farms and who are ambitious to make something of themselves, but who now have no proper opportunity. While free to the boy who secures it, it is not a charity, and a boy can accept its benefits without a loss of self-respect, because he is required, if called upon, to give his services in return for his education.

The National Government now contributes little to education. It can do more and should do more. It should pay its money where it will do the most good, where it will bring the greatest returns. Could it be imagined how greater good could be accomplished by educating and training well, physically and mentally, 5,000 ambitious boys each year, picked out according to merit from every county, from every State in the Union. In such military training schools there would be taught self-reliance, initiative, pluck, vigorous action in all undertakings, endurance, true regard for discipline and order, regard for duty, patriotism and courtesy, and these things, together with their physical and academic training, would fit them to be leaders in every walk of life, civil and military.

I have looked over the biographies of a great many of the Members of this House, and from an account given in these biographies there are but few men here who would not have in early life regarded such an education and training as the greatest boon that could have fallen to them. It would have meant much to the most of us. A great many of us would have regarded such an opportunity as priceless. Why, then, should we not arrange this for those who will succeed us here and for those who will be situated as we were in early life or for those who go into other walks of life so that they will be better prepared, better equipped than we were. These institutions are not for the rich. The rich are excluded from their benefits unless they pay for them. They are for the poor boys, for the boys possessing merit, and energy, and ambition, and pluck, and bravery. While the city boys are not excluded under the plan, the country boys will be the largest beneficiaries under this act.

COUNTRY BOYS.

We owe the country boys of our land something along this line and should give it to them. Many of them may, the most of them do not, now have a fair chance to equip themselves for the race of life. It is true we now find these country boys in the front ranks in all professions and in all the avenues of business and trade and commerce. They get there by reason of their pluck and ambition. Let us aid them on their upward journey by educating them better and by training them better. Let us join hands with them and say to them that the greatest Government on earth feels kindly toward them; that it wants to encourage them in their ambitions; that it wants to make more capable citizens of them; wants to help them upward and onward; wants to aid in equipping them so that the best in them may be developed; wants to make them the highest and best type of the American citizen, namely, a type that is educated and refined, trained in mind and body, fitted for the peaceful pursuits of life in times of peace, and equally fitted and ready to defend or avenge their country in times of war.

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